853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O'mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[843] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[843] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

[764]

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

276 323 324

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba'om, the pipe šokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

● 842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 278 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] 171 [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 1926] Chuckchansi

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whipporwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʷɑɻ ɻ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

Y W 601 [P. 2356] Western Mono NS25

The husband was termed loto´pnum (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wun. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'akšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186] B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.